

REMARKS
ON THE
LETTER
TO THE
DISSENTERS.

By a CHURCHMAN.

*These are Murmurers, Complainers, walking
after their own Lusts, and their Mouth
speaketh great swelling Words, having Mens
Persons in Admiration because of Advan-
tage. Jude.*

L O N D O N :

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REMARKS

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LETTER

TO THE

OVERSEERS

OF THE CHURCH

OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY
IN THE CITY OF LONDON
AND OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN
IN THE CITY OF LONDON
AND OF THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW
IN THE CITY OF LONDON

LONDON

Printed by J. W. Smith, in New Street,
at the Sign of the Green Dragon,
and by J. W. Smith, in New Street,
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at the Sign of the Green Dragon



REMARKS

ON THE

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DISSENTERS.



IT is very easy to discover, that the Author of the *Letter to the Dissenters*, is some inconsiderable Wretch that has sold both his Principles and Pen to a *Faction*, Enemies to the Liberty of their Country. But if inconsiderable Wretches are to be neglected, the Field wou'd be left clear to them; for whom else can they engage in the Defence of a Cause, that has nothing in the World to support it, but *Falshood* and *Impudence*?

I am ashamed to mark out the Person on whom this *Libel* is father'd; not so much on account of his being render'd *infamous* by *Law*, as for the greater Infamy he has loaded himself with of late Years, in the Service of *France* and her Friends. 'Tis a hard Case, that Men of common Sense and Honesty, shou'd be reduc'd to the Necessity either of patiently hearing all Reason, Justice, and Truth ridicul'd and insulted, or of entering the Lists with a Set of hireling Scriblers, who are under another Necessity either of Scribbling or Starving; and yet by pretending to *Protection* and *Countenance*, they wou'd impose their *Sophistry* and *Insolence* on weak Minds, for *Authority* and *Argument*, were they not set in their true Light, and necessary Cautions given to unwary Readers not to be deceiv'd by them.

But it will always be so at certain Junctures. When *Richlieu* reign'd in *France*, For what other Name can we give to the *Tyranny* of that *Minister*? the famous *Mareschal de Bassompierre*, was forc'd to stake his Reputation against an ignorant, illiterate Fellow whom *Richlieu* had hir'd to abuse him, and who had nothing to venture against him but the *Paper* and *Ink* that he wasted in the Controversy.

The Writers, whom we are most troubled with, are those, who, under Pretence of vindicating the *Q*— and Ministry, who, God be thanked, do not want such Advocates, treat the best and greatest Men of the Kingdom, whole Orders and Communities, as *Factionous* and *Seditious*; and confine Loyalty to a Party that have been Strangers to it ever since there was any Merit in being Loyal.

Before I talk with this Writer more particularly as to the main Subject of his *Letter*, I shall beg leave to say a Word or two about the Terms *Sedition* and *Faction*, and the Conduct of the *High-Church* Faction towards Her Majesty and Her Ministry.

It is not for three or four Persons who are honour'd with the Administration of the Publick Affairs,

fairs, to call themselves the *State*, any more than it was in the Time of the *Memorial*, for three or four Bishops, and a few pious and wise Members of the Lower Houses of Parliament and Convocation, to call themselves the *Church*: And yet that they did so, may be seen by that ever memorable *Romance*, where Faction and Sedition appear triumphant, and we may know who the Men are that have distinguish'd themselves by their Obedience and Respect to Her Majesty and Her Ministers. Do not we find there the Earls of *Rochester*, *Jersey*, *Dy-sert*, *Winchelsea*, the Lord *Granville*, the Lord *Gower*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *George Rooke*, and others of the same Stamp, set off as Patrons and Champions of the *Church*, which they represent as in the most extream Danger under Her present Majesty? These Men might as well call themselves the *Church*, as some others call themselves the *State*. For as the Church is not compos'd only of *Bishops*, *Deans*, and *Prebendaries*; so neither can the State be said to consist only of *Chancellors*, *Treasurers*, and *Secretaries*. The *Constitution* is really the *State*, and those that by indirect Practices, and for private Ends, make Breaches in it, weaken its Foundation, and endanger its Establishment, are truly the *Factions* and *Seditions*, however they are dignify'd and distinguish'd.

When a Nation is in full Prosperity, their Arms every where victorious, their Credit strong and flourishing, their Counsels steady and happy, what Name is there for such Men as shall confound these Counsels, destroy that Credit, and disarm those Generals that had made them so safe and so glorious by many surprizing Victories?

When a State is at the Head of a powerful Confederacy, in the Defence of the Common Liberty, when the *Destroyer* is himself on the Brink of *Destruction*, and nothing but Union is wanting to finish the Deliverance of Kingdoms and Commonwealths from a long-threatned *Tyranny*, What is it
to

to divide the Members of so necessary an Alliance, to restore Vigour, and even Fortune, to a vanquish'd Tyrant, and hazard again the Freedom of the World? If there is an Instance of such Management in History, see whether every honest Reader will not cry out against it as *Factions* and *Seditious*, whatever Accidents and Circumstances may intervene to seem to justify or authorize it. These Marks are indelible: Such bad Actions as these create Ideas, for which there are no other Words in Language, but *Sedition* and *Faction*. 'Tis in vain to cloath fair Actions in a *foul* Dress; the Ideas Men have of them in their Mind, are spotless and clean; and when a Man is lawfully doing his Endeavour according to his Ability and Station, to serve his Country, encrease its Wealth, and advance its Honour, whatever Success his good Endeavour may be attended with, 'twill be in vain to call it *Factions* and *Seditious*. Every one will justify him in his own Mind, for having done his Duty, and will condemn those that hinder'd the good Effect of it, let them be never so great and so powerful.

Was there no other Reason but this, That all Parties among us have in their Turn thrown *Sedition* and *Faction* in the Teeth of their Opponents, it shou'd, methinks, make some People find out other Terms to villifie those they hate. Their Lexicon abounds with Phrases of *Calumny* and *Scandal*, but then their Weapons wou'd at once lose all their Edge. 'Tis neither their Wit nor their Reasoning, which they dare trust to; 'tis their Power, their Privilege: This Bullying-Air goes through the whole Body of them. You have it, not only in their *Libels*, but in their common Discourse. I cou'd not help smiling at the *Play* the other Night, when one of the Spectators said aloud to another, speaking of the Duke of *Marlborough*, *I hope in a little while to see him in England again.* *What's that, Sir,* says a third, *do you speak Treason?* The Man's Mouth was stoppt presently, he had not a Word more to say for the Hero

Hero that drove the *French* to the *Somme*, and might perhaps in another *Campagne*, have hung up his new Trophies in *Notredame*.

This is a stale Trick of the Enemies to *Moderation*, *Toleration*, *Trade*, and *Liberty*. Upon Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, they began to represent Her best Subjects as wanting in Respect to Her in the Reign of King *William*, and as having laid a Conspiracy in Favour of the House of *Hannover*. Her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to cause that wicked Slander to be enquir'd into, and it had the Censure of the House of Lords. The very same odious Representation do they now make of those that oppose them. The *Letter-Writer* tells the World, *The House of Hannover is on the most frivolous Occasions, thrown in the Faces of the most loyal Subjects the Queen has; and the aforesaid Faction*, he means the Well-wishers to that illustrious House, *bullies the People with the Hannover Succession*; whereas in truth, 'tis that very Faction, so term'd by the highest Authority in the Case of the *High-Church Memorial*, who not many Years since, form'd a deep Design to bring over immediately some of the House of *Hannover*; not the better to secure the Protestant Succession, but by so popular a Step, at that time however unseasonable, to ingratiate themselves with the People, whose Hearts they had so entirely lost, that nothing but the People's losing their Wits, cou'd in any degree have recover'd them.

As to their Behaviour to Her Majesty's Royal Person and Dignity, I might give a thousand Instances of their flagrant *Faction* and *Sedition*; not that their Example excuses these Crimes in others, but it shews us, that it is not of such Masters as *High-Church*, that we are to learn a perfect and passive Obedience and Respect to the Sovereign, which they never pretended to practice, but in order to compel Respect and Obedience to themselves.

Look

Look over that Picture in Miniature of the whole Party, the *Memorial*, and you need go no farther to see what Usage so good a Queen has met with from them in her own Reign; and I cou'd, perhaps I may in time, name some of 'em, whose Conduct towards Her in the last was not more respectful.

Her Majesty's Zeal for the Establish'd Church, has been so eminent during the whole Course of Her Life, that one wou'd not think it possible for the most Hellish Malice to asperse Her on that Head: And yet see how these most dutiful Sons and Subjects of the *Queen and Church* treat Her in that Traiterous Libel, own'd of late to be the Sense of the Faction. In one Place they say, the *Q— is wean'd from the Church*. In another, they plainly see by the *Obstructions which every thing that has been advanced for the Security of the Church has met with, that the Church does not hold the same Rank in her Esteem and Confidence; or, that at least, thro' the awe of some Party or other, she dares not give the wonted Marks of it*. They say again, *From the frequent Inculcations of the Necessity of moderate Counsels, and from the repeated Exhortations from the Throne to Peace and Union, the Churchmen do find themselves almost as sensibly reproach'd as by the defamatory Libels of the Dissenters and their Hirelings*. They also suppose a Time, when it may be too late to fly to the Throne in their Distress; the Crown it self may be timorous; ill advis'd, unwilling, or unable to relieve them: Nay, these good High-Churchmen go so far, as to quote a very odd piece of French History, and shew, how Henry III. became very unhappy and contemptible to his People, and brought himself at last to an untimely End by the Hands of an Assassin. Good God! Here is a horrid High-Church Insinuation. I defy the rankest Tory in England to match this impious Suggestion in the Writings of the most furious Republicans. And yet these notable Pillars and Patrons of the Church, add, *Tho' this tragical Story is not, it is to be hop'd, applicable to England in all its Circumstances, yet the first Part of it*
comes

comes so near us, that it makes it not improper to consider the Conclusion. Is this the Faction that is to teach us our Duty to the Q---, that is, to advise and counsel, as the Letter-writer officiously undertakes to do, not only Dissenters, but all Englishmen who are not of his Mind, and will not sacrifice the Publick to a Private Interest?

I shall in the next place, take some notice of these Mens Behaviour to Her Majesty's Ministers: Ministers in the highest Repute both at home and abroad, that ever any Ministry was, either of our own or other Nations, whose Administration so many Parliaments, and the Voice of the People in so many voluntary Addresses had applauded. Ministers with whose Service Her Majesty had so often declar'd Her self from the Throne, to be well pleas'd, in whom confederate Nations put such entire Confidence, and whose Counsels the Common Enemy dreaded, as the sure Measures of his Ruine. In a word, Ministers, whose Wisdom, Courage, and Fidelity, were crown'd with so much Glory, that the Period of their Ministry will, doubtless, be the brightest part of the British Annals. When we come to the Instances of the undutiful Carriage of the Faction to these Ministers, we shall find it to be on the old Account still, the Church's Danger; a Pretence the more ridiculous, because the Piety and Morals of those that made use of it so scandalously bely'd their Zeal: However, our High-Church Champions proclaim in their Memorial, *That all Attempts to settle the Church, have been render'd ineffectual by MINISTERS, who with a Prevarication as shameful as their Ingratitude, pretend to vote and speak for it themselves, while they solicit and bribe others with Places and Pensions to be against it; their Prevarications are strong enough to rouse Nature.* These Loyal Passive-Obedience Men threaten to secure themselves at the Peril of those MINISTERS who give them the Alarm, and they bid the Lord High Treasurer look to it, and maturely weigh who are to be provok'd at this Juncture.

May not I make use of the Reflections of the Letter-writer himself, on the forbearance of the then Government to such insolent Offenders? *The Clemency of the Queen*, says he, and *Moderation of the Ministry* are a Blessing to a Nation when practis'd in their due Measure, but become Criminal to themselves and Injurious to the Publick, when they suffer themselves to be so insulted. What wou'd this Fellow say, if any Friend to Liberty and the Protestant Succession, shou'd talk of those into whose Hands Her Majesty has thought fit to entrust the Administration of the Publick Affairs, as the Faction talk'd of them eight Years ago in their Manifesto? 'Tis a very great Doubt whether our MINISTERS are so honest as they ought to be, or as wise as they pretend to be. The contrary of all which is shrewdly to be suspected. Let me transplant one Paragraph more of that renown'd High-Church Manifesto, and see how 'twill look in another place; *The T---*, say they, may please himself with a Dream of Power and Popularity, and may fancy himself some mighty Monarch when he sees his Levees crowded; but 'tis his Staff they follow, not him. If his Footman bore it, they wou'd be all as obsequiously at his Heels. Shou'd any one dare to say as much in the name of a Party, how wou'd every body cry out *Faction* and *Sedition*? But the true Faction can hector or cringe, can threaten or flatter, can preach Obedience or Rebellion as it serves a present Turn. We must never mind what Names they give to Persons or Things, they confound Truth and Falshood, Vice and Virtue, their Writings being generally to be read backwards, and the contrary to what they say of Things and Persons, to be taken for Truth.

I cou'd enlarge upon this Topick to as great a length as I pleas'd; but I shall content my self with what has been said, to prove, that the *Faction* against the *Revolution*, the *Government* founded upon it, and the *Protestant Succession*, never talk of Loyalty and Obedience, but they mean themselves; that all their Care of the *Church*, and their Concern for the

the *Crown*, are Grimace ; and that all *Englishmen* shou'd abhor their Principles and despise their Lessons, making the *Laws* only the measure of their *Obedience*, and they may then laugh at the Flattery or Threats of all Parties and Persons whatsoever. I shall conclude what I have to say on this Head, with the Words of a most excellent and polite Author, now deceas'd, in a Manuscript of his that shall some time or other see the Light. It was written on occasion of the Memorial, and his Reflections on Things are as judicious and prophetic as his Paintings of Men are natural and pleasant. *What rare Church of England Men*, says he, *these are, let all the World judge. Indeed, they seem not only to have left the Church, and to have outliv'd all Sense of Allegiance to Her Majesty, but to have lost so entirely all Notions of Good and Evil, that they call every thing and Person by a wrong Name ; Obedience they call Faction, and Moderation Phanaticism ; Treason they call Loyalty, and Persecution Primitive Christianity ; those that never attend Divine Service, they call true Churchmen ; and those that constantly appear at Church, are Dissenters in their Hearts.* As often therefore as in any of their *Libels* we meet with the Terms, *Faction, Sedition, Church, Loyalty, Peace*, and the like, we are not to joyn any other Ideas to them than what wou'd arise from *Places, Power, Persecution, Revenge and Advantage* ; 'tis very plain they intend themselves only, unless sometimes *they carry on Designs which they dare not own*, as they have been told from the Throne : Tho' even those very black and impious Designs, whether in Favour of *France* or the Pretender, have themselves still at the bottom, they being so stupid as to imagine they shou'd not be serv'd upon another *Restoration*, as the *Cavaliers* were upon the last. To which Purpose I will put them in Mind of the Story of an old *West Saxon*, Collonel *Pool*, who having done more than these Loyal Gentlemen pretend to, spent a very good Estate in the *Cavalier* Cause, came to Court soon after King *Charles II's*.

Return, and found the King so furrounded by *Parisians*, that he cou'd not come at him. He in vain waited several Months ; there was no body to introduce him. At last, walking one Day very pensively in the *Mall*, the King happening to come by and observing him, a Courtier took the Liberty to tell his Majesty what an Estate that old Gentleman had spent in his Father's Service. The King asking his Name, *Pool*, says the Courtier. *And how does he spell it*, replys the facetious Monarch, *with a P or an F* ? Now can these *Churchmen* flatter themselves, the Pretender wou'd not have *Frenchmen* and *Papists* enough to provide for ? and tho' their Consciences may allow them to go a small Step farther, and profess themselves of the *Church of Rome* ; yet let them not forget this common Maxim of Princes, to hate the *Traytor*, tho' they love the *Treason*.

I cou'd not avoid the foregoing Reflections, as I am a Member of the *Church of England*, the best constituted of any upon Earth, for the Good of Society, and Support of Government. It teaches Men Gratitude, Justice and Truth, the Duty of Subjects to Princes, and of Christians to one another, which leads me to consider the *Letter* to the *Dissenters*, as it relates to them as *Englishmen* : For as they are *Christians* and *Protestants*, *Reason*, *Justice* and *Law* have given them the *Liberty* of their *Consciences*, of which nothing but *Injustice* and *Oppression* can deprive them.

I will not sink so low as to expostulate with this *Writer*, as he is a *Dissenter*, or rather *Fanatick* himself, on the baseness of his Compliance with a *Faction* to betray the People with whom he worships God, and receives his *Sacrament*, if he ever does it all. He is too mean and too wretched to be consider'd in himself, and 'tis only with Respect to those that hire and employ him, that one can excuse one's self for being at the least *Trouble* about him.

His Design, if he has any other than to be paid, is to wheedle and frighten the whole Body of the
Dissenters

Dissenters out of that *Spirit of Liberty* and *Zeal* for the *Publick Good*, which they have always exerted in a distinguishing manner, and which have made all good *Churchmen* look on them as their honest mistaken Brethren, and as such to treat them with *Moderation* and *Friendship*. If this Writer cou'd break the Union between *English Protestants*, *Churchmen* and *Dissenters*, he wou'd do the Work at once, he might then scribble for the *Pretender* as openly as he would; he wou'd soon need no Pardon to protect him: But 'tis to be hop'd, the *Dissenters*, who notwithstanding the great Favour shewn them by King *James*, fell chearfully in with the *Church* Interest, when it was really in *Danger*, because the *Church* Interest is inseparable from the *State*, and will always rise and sink with it; 'Tis to be hop'd, I say, they will hearken to no Insinuations which may weaken that *Zeal* for the *Publick Good*, and deaden that *Spirit of Liberty* which have endear'd them to all true *Churchmen* and true *Englishmen*. We of the *Laity* do not concern our selves with the Disputes and Heats of *Theologists*; we are told by the best *Divines* in the Church of *England*, that the Matters in debate are *indifferent*, and we think to rob People of their *Birthright* for Scruples in *indifferent* Matters, to be so wicked and unjust, that we cannot suppose a *Protestant* Government capable of it.

I wish this *Letter-Writer* wou'd tell me, what are the other great *Privileges* the *Dissenters* enjoy, besides their being suffer'd to worship God in a *Protestant* Country after a *Protestant* manner. This is no new *Privilege*: King *James* gave it to them first, and the Voice of the People, confirm'd by the Authority of the Legislature, establish'd it to them afterwards. This *Privilege* is what they claim as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*. It depends on *Reason*, *Justice*, and the *Law*, and therefore cannot so properly be said to depend immediately upon the Government which executes that Law. It will not be im-
proper

proper to observe here what Reasons the Legislature have given for this Law, which ought to be like that of the *Medes and Persians*, unalterable.

As nothing is more contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of England, than Persecution for Conscience only: In due Consideration whereof, an Act passed in the First Year of the late King William and Queen Mary, Intituled, An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of *England*, from all Penalties of certain Laws: Which Act ought to be inviolably observed, and Ease given to all Consciences truly scrupulous, &c.

Thus was the Justice of the Toleration asserted by that very *Parliament*, who were so willing to force the *Occasional Bill* upon the Queen and Lords, that they wou'd have done it with the never-to-be-forgotten TACK.

True it was, this Act did not pass; the Lords clogg'd it with several good and reasonable Clauses, and had several Conferences with the Commons about it. Among their *Managers*, we find the present Earls, *Ferrars* and *Strafford*, the Earl of *Anglesey*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord *La War*, the Lord *North*, &c. And among the *Managers* for the Commons, Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *St. John*, Sr. *Thomas Powis*, and others.

Nay, the very Act which cuts them short in the Privileges of *Englishmen*, begins with renewing to them Assurances of securing their Religious Liberty, and as much as it seems to abridge it, the *Preamble* tells us, It was for quieting the Minds of Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England, rendering them secure in the Exercise of their Religious Worship. The very Title of the Act says, 'Tis for Confirming the Toleration; and it is very plain, that the Sense of the Nation is the same, whatever some hot Men say or do to exasperate us against our Protestant Brethren the *Dissenters*. These Bigots wou'd have dropt the Word *Toleration*, and have

have put *Exemption* in the Place of it. This was endeavour'd to be made fashionable by *Sacheverell* and his *Lawyers*. But that affected Rudeness is abolish'd by the late *Occasional Bill*, where *Toleration* is made the Ground-work of the Statute; and I doubt not, it is built on such a Rock, *National Justice* and *Goodness*, that it will not be in the Power of Malice or Envy to shake it.

Can a *Privilege* so founded, be said to depend on *Favour* and *Clemency*? There is no *Clemency* in being *Reasonable*, no *Favour* in being *Just*; and I shou'd tremble to hear it said, that a Law which took its Rise from *Justice* and *Reason*, wou'd be violated meerly for the Prejudices and Piques of *interested* Persons, or receive its first Shock from the Power that is ordain'd to maintain it.

If this *Writer of Letters* had remember'd us, that before the *Revolution*, the *Dissenters* enjoy'd much greater *Privileges* than they have done since, that their *Meeting-Houses* were not only open, and their *Seminaries* crowded, but their Gentlemen and chief Tradesmen were employ'd in all Offices of Honour, Trust, and Profit, that they were not afraid of an *Occasional Bill*, nor labour'd under a *Sacramental* One, and that yet these great *Privileges* were so far from being threatned to be taken away by *High-Church*, that Archbishop *Sancroft* and his Brethren, assur'd King *James*, *They were ready to come to any further Temper with Them*. And when afterwards in King *William's* Time, some Steps were taken towards a *Comprehension*, when a Commission was issu'd to several *Bishops* and *Divines* of the Church to prepare Matters in order to a *Bill*, Who were the *Commissioners* employ'd in that pious and charitable Office? Were they not Dr. *Lampbough*, Archbishop of *York*; Dr. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*; Dr. *Mew*, Bishop of *Winchester*; Dr. *Sprat*, Bishop of *Rochester*; Dr. *Sharp*, Dr. *Aldrich*, Dr. *Jane*, Dr. *Beveridge*, Dr. *Alston*, Dr. *Scot*, &c. Men, who doubtless wou'd not have charg'd themselves with such a *Commission*, had they
not

not thought it their Duty to do all that lay in their Power to reconcile *English Protestants*, and make them One Church and One People; not by Acts of Rage and Violence, as is now practis'd by *High-Church*, but by Acts of Piety and Friendship. If he had done this, what wou'd have become of all his Exaggerations? of their *Religious Liberties* now granted them to their full Satisfaction? of their being allow'd Schools and Seminaries, tho' by Law, he says, they may, and he adds, himself a Dissenter, ought to be suppress'd? What has been done for them since the first Year of King William? Have not their Schools and Seminaries been presented and prosecuted at *Affizes*? Are not they more effectually than ever, shut out from all Places of Trust and Profit, which other *Englishmen* enjoy? What extraordinary Favours have been shew'd down upon them, that he taxes them with so much Ingratitude? Why did he not name the other Laws that were made in the last Reign, or this, to set them on a Level with other *Englishmen*? The great, mighty, and new Privileges he talks of, as added to the Act of Exemption, the Toleration having, as I have observ'd, been of late thought too strong a Phrase for it? In what singular Manner have they, as he affirms, been provided for and protected? Why does he not give us the Instances of the Clemency and Goodness by which they have been so highly engag'd and oblig'd? I do not urge this to insinuate, that they ought to expect any more Favour than they have, but to shew the World that the Obligation the Dissenters lie under for being deliver'd from the Persecution of *High-Church*, is of above twenty Years standing; and that as great Privileges as they now enjoy, the Time was when they had greater, which is said to clear them of the particular Charge of Ingratitude; a Vice which every honest Man must have in the utmost Abhorrence as long as there are two such Places in the World as *Bleinheim* and *Antwerp*. All *Englishmen* are oblig'd to the Government for the just and impartial Execution of the Laws, but 'tis ridiculous to say, that

that these *Englishmen*, as *Dissenters*, who have but *one* Law in their Favour, are more oblig'd than those, who as *Churchmen*, have a *hundred*; or that so *solitary* a Law shou'd have such an Influence upon them, as, if occasion requir'd, to make them forget they are *Englishmen*, purely for the sake of their being *Dissenters*?

These unhappy *Protestants* are not to be look'd upon in the present *Contest*, in a *Religious* Capacity, but in a *Civil*. They declare they are not afraid of their *Toleration Act*; they shou'd hate themselves if they gave way to the least Suggestions of Her Majesty's Enemies, that She wou'd ever consent to the *Violation* of a Law she has been graciously pleas'd to declare *Inviolable*, tho' the Frenzy of Faction were so great as to present any thing injurious to it to the Royal Scepter. They know who they are, that having had the same *Education* with themselves, were once zealous Assertors of every Branch of their *Privileges*, and did not give them up till they thought they cou'd not establish themselves without it: These Men cannot but be suspected by them as *Deserters*, who in all Cases think they can't sufficiently prove their *Sincerity* to the Party they have *embrac'd*, but by villifying and persecuting that which they have *deserted*; whereas they cannot but have Confidence in others, who having been always against them as *Dissenters*, have always protected them as *Englishmen*.

Does not this Wretch know, that the Person whom he charges with bringing on the *Occasional Bill*, was the very Person that brought on the *Toleration Act*, and was industrious in the Business of the *Comprehension*, and yet of so steady Principles to the *Establish'd Church*, that the *High-Church-men* themselves own him in their *Memorial* to be one of their principal *Heroes* and *Champions*, and he has not as a *Churchman* taken one Step to forfeit that illustrious Character, tho' as an *Englishman*, he has left them when the *Church* was not in question? It cannot be laid to his Charge, tho' he is plac'd among one of the *treache-*

rous Friends of the *Dissenters*, that he ever conform'd out of Design, that he ever gave them Hopes of doing them any other Service than to contribute to the Establishment of their *Religious Liberties*. He has always insisted on the fix'd *Superiority* of that *Church* to which so many Laws have given it, and that too at a Time when *Political Interests* seem'd to require more Tenderness to those that *dissented* from Her. But he scorns to prevaricate either with God or Man, and as he continues to assert the *Civil Liberties* of the People of *England* in general, so he persists in vindicating the great *Prerogatives* of the *Church*, but with a Christian Temper, which shews his Charity reaches to the *Souls* as well as to the *Bodies* of Men. The *Threats* he so boldly thunders out against the *Dissenters*, are the most *Spirituous* Parts of his *Letter*. But his *Spirit*, like his *Argument*, is false, and consists only of *Vapour* and *Wind*: For, alas! the *English* Nation are a humane, compassionate People: They cou'd not bear to see the cruel Effects of such a *Tory* Administration as there was about thirty Years ago, to see their honest Neighbours hurry'd away to *Gaols*, and their Houses and Barns plunder'd at the Mercy of ravenous and perjur'd Informers and Magistrates: They wou'd presently forget all Party Heats and Distinctions, and their good Sense and good Nature wou'd immediately tell them, These Men are our Countrymen, they are our Fellow-Subjects, Fellow-Christians and Protestants; we live with them, we converse with them, we deal with them: As *Englishmen* our Interests are the same: In the Name of God let them worship him in their own Way, and may He in his due time so enlighten them as that they may join with us in *Religious* as well as *Civil* Matters, to unite us the more firmly against our inveterate Enemies, the *Papists*, who are upon the Watch to make their Market of our *Divisions*, and to drive us together to *Smithfield*. Such Measures as this *Hireling* threatens them with, are too daring for any Set of Men to venture upon, under so gracious, so just a Prince, who has but

but one *Interest*, whatever they have, which is the *Good* of Her People. In a Nation utter Enemies to *Slavery* and *Cruelty*, those that wish them ill, cou'd not put them upon any Thing that wou'd sooner end in their Destruction, which they know too well to venture upon. When this *Scribler* acts the Part of a *Bully*, 'tis in a vain Imagination, that he has *Cullies* to deal with : But I believe he does not find they have yet given him any Reason to take them for such, and I hope they never will.

If it were in his Power to do what he wou'd with the poor *Dissenters*, with his own dear Brethren, the very Men to whom he pretends to have vow'd *Body* and *Soul*, pray Gentlemen, observe a little what wou'd be the End of it, unless you follow his sage and friendly Counsel, he wou'd precipitate your selves and your innocent Posterity into most horrible Ruine, p. 10. He wou'd have you crush'd and suppress'd as *Tumultuous and Factionous*, p. 13. He wou'd have you *salu* upon as a Body, p. 14. He wou'd have you made to repent of abusing the Sin of too much Mercy, p. 17. He wou'd have you abridg'd and cut short in your Religious Liberty, p. 19. Your Schools and Seminaries he wou'd have suppress'd immediately, p. 20. the way the French King began with his *Hugonets*. Your selves he wou'd have taught your own Interest, by mortifying Methods, as you are the Essence and Spirit of Sedition, p. 20, 21. He tells you, there are too many Ways left to humble you, p. 21. That Measures will be taken with you, and Hands used that were not intended, p. 27. That you must be taught your Duty at the Expence of your Liberty, p. 29. That a *Last* must be lent you, to let you know what you have to do, p. 29. That the first Occasion must be taken to lay Hands upon you, and to single you out as a People whom it is necessary to humble for the publick Safety, p. 30. That you are at the Mercy of *Higb-Church*; the Lord have Mercy upon you. That the Safety of some Persons, who shall be nameless, consists in your Ruine and Overthrow, p. 32. And he crowns all with assuring the World, that you will join the

Pretender to bring in the Old Ministry, p. 34. For that he means you when he wickedly throws that absurd and detestable Calumny on the *Whiggs* in general, and in a Word, when he belyes and villifies them at all, is plain by his frank Confession, *That he has not enter'd into the Follies of the Malecontents, any farther than it appears the Dissenters are engag'd in them.*

This, Gentlemen, is the honest Man who designs your Good: This is his calm and friendly Advice. If it is not Sedition to act the Part of an Incendiary, and foment Discord in so villainous a manner, What is Sedition? Himself owns, p. 29. *The Dissenters are a great Body of the Nation.* As they are so, Shall they not have Liberty to act in *Spirituals and Temporals*, according to their Consciences? What wou'd he insinuate, by depriving them of other Liberties besides the *Toleration and Exemption*, p. 45? Is it the Liberty to buy and sell, to eat and drink, to breath *English Air*? What can this *Mercenary* pretend by this cursed Insinuation, especially where he farther suggests, that Her most sacred Majesty will not be ty'd by the Letter of Her Promises, p. 43. Wou'd not this be almost Treason in any of you or me? And yet has he the Forehead in the same *Invective*, to affront the Throne with his filthy *Panegyricks*.

He very kindly tells you, that for this once, he did indeed let you *Vote* in *Elections* of *Parliament*, and wou'd not say a Word against it, but at the same time gives you to understand, that if he leaves you that other *Privilege* over and above your *Exemption*, he expects you will behave your selves to his good liking at the next Opportunity. 'Tis true, Endeavours were us'd in some Places to take away this *Right* from some of you at the last Struggle, and you may assure your selves, his friendly Endeavours will never be wanting to cut you short in that Part of your *Bright*. Tho' for this time, he tries you, he says, p. 47. *He did not publish his Letter, tho' long ago written, till all your joining and voting on one side or other, was finish'd and over.* If *Englishmen* must not vote as they

they think fit; if they are to be charg'd with *Faction* and *Sedition*, every time they do not *Vote* as Ministers wou'd have them, of what use to them is their *Privilege of Voting*? Happy is the Nation where the *Administration* is always to the *Good* and Interest of the People: But since that is rather to be despair'd of than hop'd for, it being a Degree of Perfection of which all sublunary things are incapable, since the greatest Stations do not defend Men from Error, and the People sometimes are the best Judges of their own Interest, 'tis certainly their *Right* and *Duty* to *Vote* for such Men and such Things as they believe will contribute most to the Welfare of themselves and their Posterity, when they are legally call'd upon to *Vote*, and to go about to awe them or influence them in *Voting*, is *Tyranny* worse than either *Faction* or *Sedition*. Will he call all those worthy Members of the last House of Commons, who Voted against the Bill of *Commerce*, a *Faction*? Will he call the *Electors* that voted for them in this Parliament, or for other Members on that account, *Factionous*? Why is he so outrageous against the *Whiggs*, for doing their utmost that the present *Parliament*, of whom such great things are expected on all Hands, shou'd be free? And why so angry with the *Dissenters*, as *Tradesmen*, for endeavouring to give their Powers to such as were best *Judges of Trade*, and most concern'd in it? This is what they have most at Heart. The Law secures their Religion to them, and excludes them the Places; What need they care who are in or out? But certainly it behoves them to do what they can, in a legal way, to maintain and encrease their Property; in which no doubt, they will act according to their best Light. Property is of no side, Interest never lies, and *Whigg-Merchants* and *Tory-Merchants* are *Englishmen* alike, when their Commerce is in question, if they have no sinister Byas.

I have all along treated the *Dissenters*, not as such, but as *Englishmen*. They have not yet dar'd to cry out,

out, their *Church is in Danger*, tho' five or six of 'em were at one time burning about their Ears. They have such an entire Assurance of the Goodness of their Cause and the Justice of the Government, that they don't value the Threats of a desperate Faction, nor even the Insults of a tumultuous *Rabble*: They knew the *Rage* of the one proceeds from their *Despair*, and that the *Fury* of the other will spend it self, or perhaps take another Channel. It must be said for them, that they never once gave up the Cause of Liberty; and this Constancy of theirs, is the Reason why good *Churchmen* wou'd cherish and indulge them in the free use of their Civil *Privileges*, which *High-Church* deliver'd up to *Arbitrary Power*, with the *Charters* of almost all the *Corporations* of *England*. If worldly Interest cou'd have influenced these mistaken Men, why did they not accept of that Bounty which wou'd have rebuilt those Edifices, the two Rebels *Damere* and *Purchase* laid in Ashes? Why did they not take the Money, and have sign'd the Petition which was sent to them, ready drawn, in behalf of those rebellious *Incendiaries*; a Copy of which I cou'd, if I thought fit, insert in this Place, but they generously refus'd any Assistance that abridg'd them of their Right in requiring Justice on the Traytors, who, in defiance of the Q——and Parliament, had rais'd a *Rebellion* in favour of an *Incendiary* greater yet than themselves. Men of this Make are not likely to be advis'd out of their Reason, by such a wise and sober Person as the *Writer* of the *Letter* to 'em. The Enemies to the *Constitution* cannot but heartily wish that such fast Friends to it, were depriv'd of all Means of assisting it, which one Argument is enough to make all who are for the Support of it, take the alarm at any thing that attacks them either in *Spiritual* Matters or *Temporal*. For whoever begins with them, will surely end with our Protestant *Church*, as the *Writer* of the *Letter* tells us King *James* intended. That Prince offer'd to Sacrifice the *Dissenters* to the *Church*, but truly she wou'd not accept of the

the Offer, and good Reason, for she knew her Fate wou'd quickly be the same, her self be a Victim to *Popery*. He then offer'd to Sacrifice the *Church* to *Dissenters*, hoping, as even this Scribbler says, by *gratifying their Revenge, to gain their Help in his Design of mastering the Laws, breaking in upon the Constitution and ruining the Church, and thereby the Protestant Religion, and at last the Dissenters themselves*. They rejected the Offer, tho' but newly deliver'd from *Gibbets* and *Goals*, by the Advice of a noble *Tory-Lord*, a True Friend to the Interest of the *Church* and *Kingdom*, as I doubt not the best and sound Part of the *Tories* will prove themselves; nevertheless they were not more influenc'd by that Advice, than by the Conviction of their own Reason, that a *Popish* Prince cou'd mean them no Good by any kind Offers he made them to the weakning of the *Protestant* Interest. And the same Conviction of their Reason makes them reject the Temptations of this *calm, this friendly Adviser*; it being impossible that a *Libeller* who has written, and is still writing daily for the Interests of *France*, can have any good Meaning for those Protestants who can never think themselves safe while she is in any wise prosperous.

Full well does my *Letter-writer* know, that there are several Passages in his *Invective*, for which I have a thousand Answers; and if he cou'd lead me into one of them, he wou'd have the same Pleasure as the *Devil* has in drawing Men on to their Destruction. I will say to him upon this Head, what he says to the Dissenters: *Ask thy self the Question, and save me the dangerous Office of discriminating*. 'Tis the way of these insolent *Mercenaries*; they have several hard Words by which they conjure themselves into a *Circle*, and they are safe there from all Assault; it is as bad as Death to approach them. He cannot, surely, have yet so forgotten his Education as to forget the *Scripture*: He, doubtless, remembers what intangling Questions the *High-Church* Jews, the *Pharisees* and King *Herod's* Men, the *Herodians*, put

to our Saviour, who had confounded them with many divine *Parables*. They cou'd not touch him there, and therefore demanded, *Is it lawful to give Tribute to Cæsar?* But, as it is in *St. Matthew*, *Jesus perceived their Wickedness, and said, why tempt ye me, ye Hypocrites*. I shall make him some amends by adding an Allusion of his Friends to this Answer of our Saviour's. The *Jacobites* have got a *Medal* of the *Pretender*, with our *Rightful and Lawful Sovereign's* Dominions on one side, and on the other his own *Attainted Image*, with this Inscription, *Cujus est, Reddite*. Having mention'd the *Pretender*, I shall take leave to observe, that the *Dissenters* are not the only *Visionaries* who are affrighted at the daring Insolence of his Friends, and at this very Fellow's among the rest. *What if the Q----- shou'd die? What if the Pretender shou'd come?* Are two notable *Scriptions* of his; for which, as a reverend Judge told him from the Bench, *He might live to be hang'd, as much an Irony as he said it was*. But there is no talking with these *Mercenaries*, 'tis like fighting with a Man that has got a *Pardon* in his Pocket; we must be satisfy'd with wishing well to what we think is right, and defer speaking the whole Truth to other Occasions. This they know we will do if we have the least Grain of Discretion. When these Bullies enter the Lists, they do it like the *Champion* at the *Coronation Feast*, well assur'd that no body dares oppose them, and that they shall have the *Goblet* into the Bargain.

Does he think that the Pulpits and Press ringing with *Hereditary Rights*, which is downright *Treason* against the *Revolution*, and all the Settlements founded upon it? Does he think the *Scots Highland Address*, pointing out as with a Finger, to the Person who is for ever barr'd the *Succeffion*, will not raise Jealousies in the Minds of good *Protestants*? Are these meer *Suggestions*, *malicious Cavils*, *bold Allegations*? Does he think the advertising *Bedford's* pompous *Folio* against King *William's* and Her Majesty's Title to the Crown, in the *Gazette*, has not made People start and

and look upon one another as in a Fright? How impatient are all Loyal Subjects at the impunity of the *Printers* and *Publishers* of that treasonable Book, and the cold Prosecution of the Author. 'Till these Men have exemplary Punishment to the utmost Rigour of the Law, the Concern of all True *Englishmen* for the Honour of Her Majesty, and the Security of the *Protestant Succession*, will not let them sleep in *Quiet*; tho' they live in *Peace*. I will, however, do him the Justice, to tell them the comfortable Tidings he gives us to dissipate all our *Fears* in Page 22. that the *French King* has been oblig'd to renounce the *Pretender*, and to engage on the Faith and Honour of a King, for himself and his Posterity, never to aid, assist, or encourage him to attempt us, and in the mean time, to expel him from his Court, and from his Dominions, and to acknowledge the Title of the House of Hannover. Fine Promises to be address'd to *Dissenters*, among whom he knows there is not a Man that cares one Farthing for the *French King's* Word, nor what he *Renounces*, nor what he *Acknowledges*, and who never have that Monarch in their Thoughts, but representing him in the miserable Condition he was in three Years ago, and wishing him in a worse, that they might trust to his *Impotence*, and not to his *Renouncings*. For there is a prior Promise to King *James*, quite contrary to his last Obligation and Engagement, and were there none, that standing one, to be true to his own *Interests*, which are as much inseparable from the *Pretender's*, as ours are from the *Dutch*, wou'd be too hard for that *Faith* and *Honour* which the *Letter-writer* offers us for our Security. I must confess, I don't think it worth while to talk of him on this Occasion. He will always do us what Mischief he can, and we have nothing to do but to prevent him, and put it out of his Power.

The greatest Enemies to the present Government, are certainly those that do their utmost to render the most sober, wealthy and valuable Part of the Nation odious to Her Majesty, to maintain whose Title,

there is not a Man of 'em but is ready to sacrifice his *Life* and *Fortune*, not in Paper only, but in *Blood* and *Treasure*. Why then are the best half of her loving and dutiful Subjects, we will guess only by the *Capital*, and that in the late *Election*, with all its Faults and Miscarriages, why are they represented as a *discontented Rabble*, a *meer confused, disunited, and dispersed Mob*? But because there are some People who cannot bear to think that growing *Party* shou'd be put in the Place of *ruin'd*, and that the *Competition* is so near a Ballance, that a Feather may turn the *Scale*.

It is the common Practice of all prevailing Parties, to represent others as *undone* and *ruin'd*, as the Writer of the *Letter*, and his Brother the *Examiner*, will have it the *Whiggs* are, tho' God be thank'd, they have enough left to pay their Tax of *Two Shillings*, and, as ruin'd as they are, they wou'd have still paid *Four* with Chearfulness. They were themselves guilty of this Weakness, when the *Memorial* quite routed their Adversaries, and left that Field clear to them which they so gloriously maintain'd. My Manuscript abovementioned, treats *High-Church* as the *meer Remnant or Shreds of a Faction*, but indeed they own'd themselves to be so, in that same *Manifesto* of theirs, and that the *Lords and the whole Body of the People, were against them*; yet what a Hand have they made of it, without either Friends or Money? which of it self, methinks, shou'd be sufficient to let People know what Climate they live in, where the Wind changing so often, 'twill be very hard if it never sets fair.

What's the meaning some Persons are so sollicitous to keep where they are? Are they in the Condition of drowning Men, who sink when they let go their Hold? *Innocence* is not so anxious about its *Preservation*. It carrys a clear Conscience with it, and that defyes all *Changes* and Chances. *Innocence* might defy even the *Pretender*, if it was possible for an *Englishman* and a *Protestant* to be innocent. What is there in any other *Change*, that a *Protestant* and an
Englishman

Englishman need be afraid of? I must explain my self here, and clear a whole Party from that diabolical Charge of the *Letter-writer*, that they build their Hopes and Wishes on a *Demise*, and drink execrable Healths to the *speedy Succession of the House of Hannover*, p. 37. Patience is lost in so much *Villany*, and as to good Manners, there are none due to such an infamous *Delator*. I who am as well acquainted with the Party as himself ever was, or is now with their Enemies, and the Enemies to that *Succession*, solemnly declare, I never once heard of so detestable a *Toast*, so prophane and undutiful an Anticipation of the *Rights* of that House. 'Tis then, nor more nor less, than a *Lye* of his own, inspir'd by the *Father of Lyes*; for they abhor such Wickedness, and build their Hopes and Wishes on Her Majesty's Wisdom, Goodness, and impartial Favours to all Her People.

As to his *Panegyricks*, I agree with him in all the Parts of them, and in no Place more than where he says what is so notoriously true, p. 12, 13. *That the Publick Affairs are brought to a happy Settlement, that we have extricated our selves out of all Difficulties; That the Constitution remains entire and unbroken.* Tho' what he says of this kind, is very dull, and has another worse Quality with it; yet 'tis so pleasing to read such things, that one cannot but be enamour'd with it. As to the Truth of it, I believe it all as much as he himself believes it. What then? If there are others, who out of Weakness or Strength of Judgment, are of another Opinion, and shew that they are so by their *Votes*, must they presently be term'd a *FACTION* for making use of their *Birth-right*? I wish he wou'd tell me who it was, that bid him call them so, I'll warrant ye he shou'd be made ashamed of it, and wish he had kept his Tongue within his Teeth, let him be who he will.

To conclude, why must all this be said to *Dissenters* and *Low-Churchmen*? If I cou'd give any Credit to him, *there are many Tories who are against the present Ministry*, Page 11. Perhaps there may, I know nothing

nothing of the the matter, and *many*, as he proceeds, of those who have always distinguish'd themselves as *Whigs*, who are entirely in their Interest, very likely. But as to what he says of the *Dissenters*, let him name me Ten of any Name at all, besides a thriving *Scrivener*, and a broken *Hoffer*, and I will have done with him, as indeed 'tis time, for his whole Libel is like the rest of his Performances, a heap of Words without Ideas, or false or confus'd ones. He was hir'd, because 'twas thought he knew best the Blind Side of those to whom he wrote ; but they have known him long enough, and if those that employ him, imagine they get ground by it, and do not do it, as 'tis said, *Conjurors* set *Devils* to work, to pick up Cockle-shells, to prevent their doing Mischief to themselves ; they are as great *Fools* as the *Tool* they make use of.

But considering the Pride he takes in giving out, that he is let into some important Secrets, least the *Incantations* shou'd be impos'd on by him, I was prevail'd upon to overcome the Reluctance I had to meddle with such a Creature, hated by those he serves, and despis'd by those he has deserted.

I have before me some Instances of his *Elegance* in *Language*, his *Excellence* in *Argument*, some of his *Concords* in *Grammar* and *Reasoning*. But alas ! one shou'd have a fine time of it to go about to shew what a sorry *Logician* and *Grammarian* he is. To talk of these Trifles, wou'd be like sending for a *Dancing Master*, when a Man has broke his Leg, instead of a *Surgeon*. If he was but an *Honest* Man, no matter whether or no he was a *Scholar* ; and if he wanted not *Veracity*, there is no body wou'd accuse him for his want of *Wit*. The Craft he so much values himself upon might pass for it, were it not that wicked *Craft* which deceiv'd our Mother *Eve* ; and without *Redemption*, wou'd have damn'd her whole *Posterity*.

F I N I S.